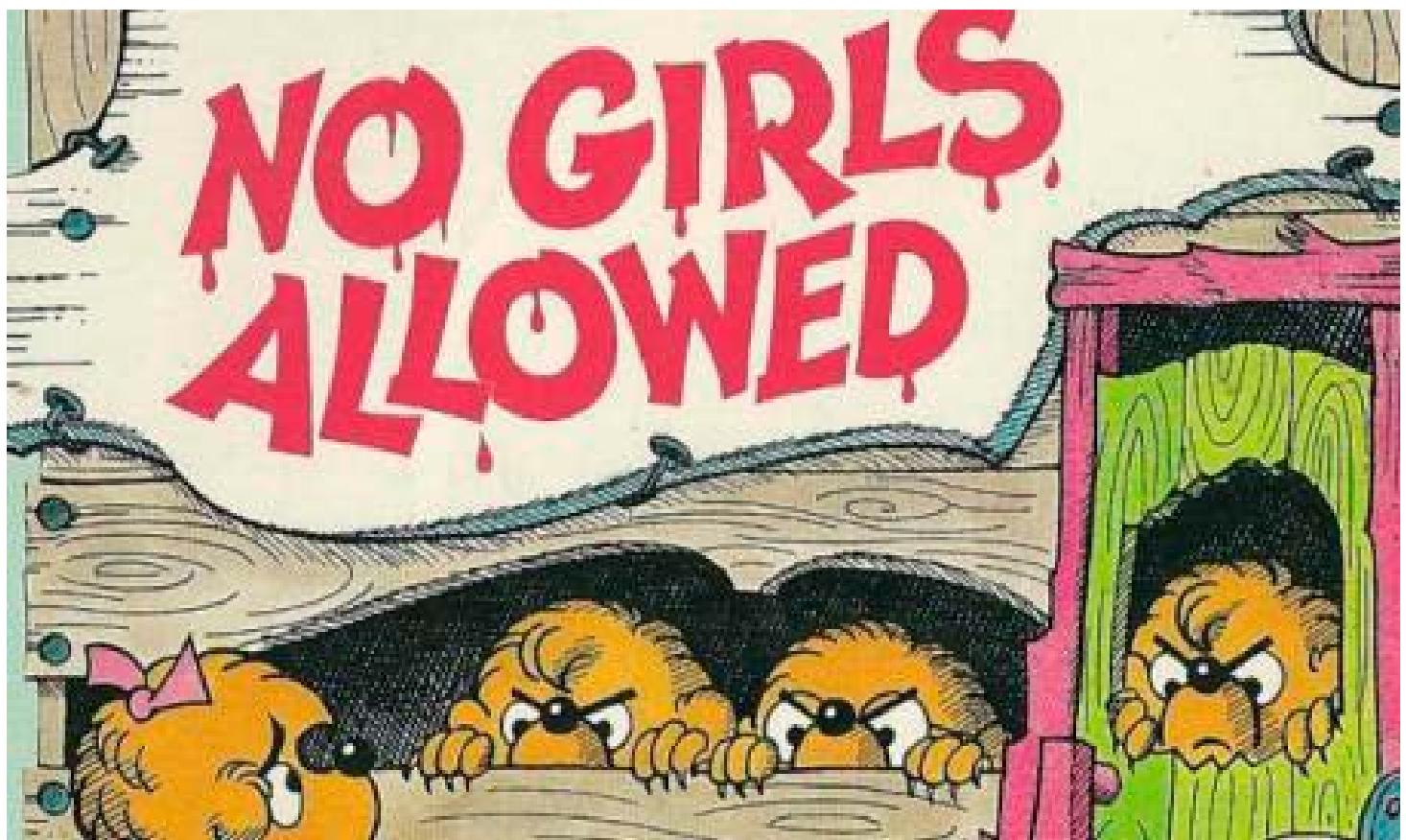


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ANTISEMITISM AND MISOGYNY OVERLAP AND INTERPLAY



by David Lawrence, Dr. Limor Simhony-Philpott and Danny Stone MBE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- **Anti-feminism and misogyny can act as slip roads towards antisemitism and other forms of racism. In recent years, the far right in particular has become increasingly adept at steering the former prejudices towards the latter.**
- **Conspiracy theories can provide a link between the two prejudices, in particular the “Cultural Marxism” and “White Genocide” ideologies.**
- **Women play important roles in many antisemitic movements as recruiters and propagandists, with several of the UK’s most important Holocaust deniers being women, although they can also quickly become targets for abuse themselves.**
- **Through analysing misogyny and gender politics on the messaging app Telegram, a key online hub for the antisemitic far right, we found that open misogyny is widespread and enabled within antisemitic spaces on the platform.**
- **Pro-rape comments are not uncommon among the antisemitic far right, and on the extreme fringes a culture has taken root that actively promotes sexual violence as a political weapon.**

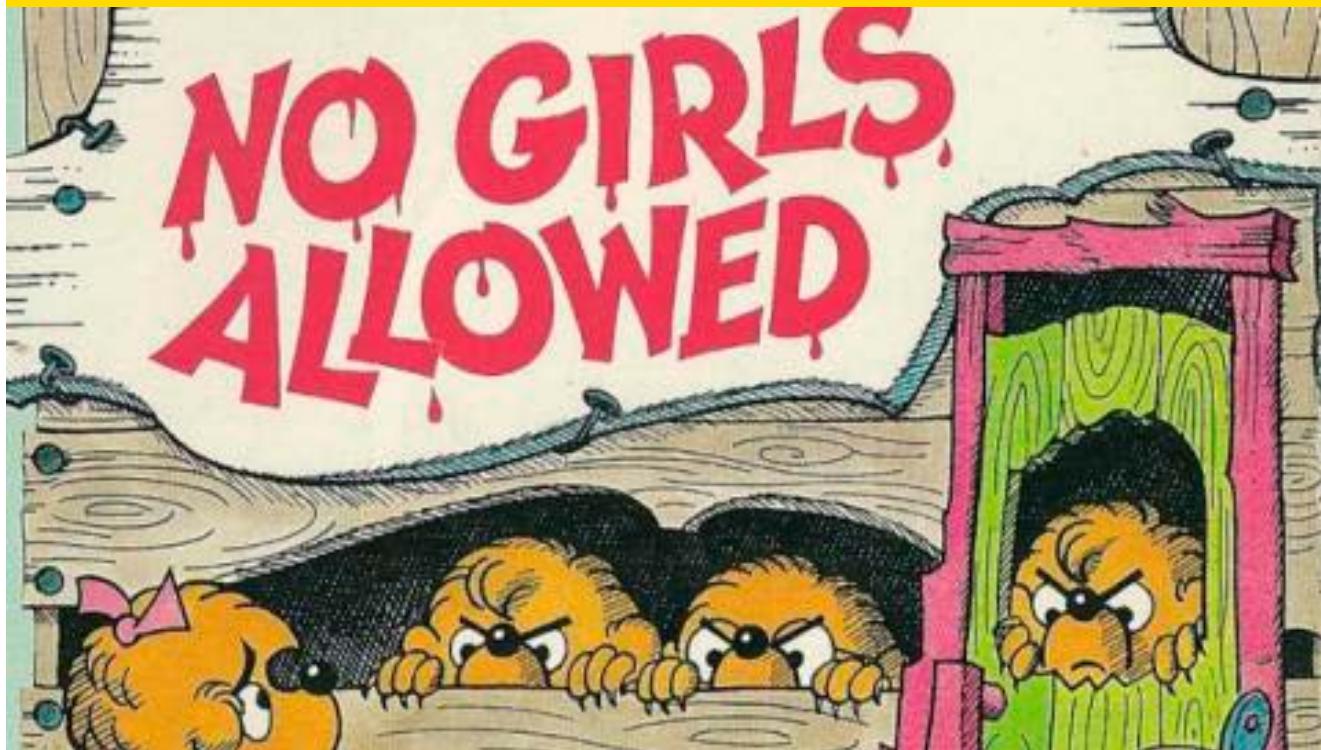
GLOSSARY

Alt-Right: A loose, tech-savvy, international far-right movement that mobilised around former President Donald Trump’s 2016 presidential campaign. The alt-right sought to update white nationalism for the 21st century and is notable in its “metapolitical” approach (aiming to shift culture to the right, believing political change will naturally follow) – and for the centrality of gender politics to its worldview, rivalling racism and antisemitism for prime importance. Whilst some of the alt-right’s central activists and organisations have diminished in influence since the mid-2010s, and many have disavowed the label, the movement has significantly influenced the contemporary far right, ideologically and strategically.

Anti-feminism: A broad term referring to the opposition to some, or all, forms of feminism. There are varying degrees of antifeminism; some deny women’s oppression and argue that women have already achieved equality in society, and so regard modern feminism as irrational and/or unfairly targeting men; others reject the notion that women should have equal rights, regarding women as naturally subservient to men. Anti-feminism can be inflected with conspiratorial language, with feminism portrayed as a controlling, authoritarian ideology designed to oppress men.

Cultural Marxism: A conspiracy theory alleging that sinister, often Jewish people subscribing to left-wing ideologies are embedded in cultural and political institutions, and are working to smuggle communism into Western culture, brainwash populations and undermine the West. Whilst the term remains commonly used by the far right, it has become increasingly sanitised in recent years, despite its antisemitic history. For more, see Antisemitism Policy Trust’s report: *Cultural Marxism: An Antisemitic Conspiracy Theory?* (2020).¹

Globohomo: A conspiratorial term referring to the notion that elites in the media, business and other institutions are seeking to eradicate differences between cultures and traditions, and seeking to impose a global “uniculture”. Similar to Cultural Marxism, some claim that these alleged attempts are “feminising” or otherwise “weakening” populations by promoting feminism, sexual freedom, gender fluidity, liberal values and immigration.



Incels (Involuntary Celibates): Incels are a subculture within the “manosphere”, made up of men who believe their lack of sexual and romantic success is involuntary and is the fault of feminism and women. Originating in the late 1990s in a support group for men and women “struggling to form loving relationships”, from the mid-2000s the subculture became increasingly misogynistic. Edinburgh University’s Tim Squirrell notes this resulted in less emphasis on support and an increasing pressure to take the ‘blackpill’: a fatalistic notion that “a man’s life chances are fundamentally determined by his attractiveness”. Many conclude their options are “living in misery or taking violent action against themselves and others”.² In the past decade there have been several mass murders linked to this subculture.

Manosphere: A loose collection of websites, forums, blogs and vlogs concerned with men’s issues and masculinity, oriented around an opposition to feminism and, within parts, the embrace of extreme misogyny. The manosphere has spawned numerous anti-women subcultures, some of which overlap with the online far right, and has produced a lexicon which has bled into much of the modern online far right.

Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW): MGTOW is a subculture of the “manosphere” consisting of gender separatists who reject, or greatly minimise, interaction with women. MGTOW is understood to have developed from fractures in the Men’s Rights Activists community in the early-to-mid 2000s, over unwillingness of some to cooperate with female MRAs.

Men’s Rights Activists (MRAs): Emerging in response to second-wave feminism, MRAs initially supported feminism’s aims but focused on how traditional masculinity also harmed men.

In the 1980s and 1990s offshoots emerged that either reasserted traditional masculinity (the ‘mythopoetic’ movement) or who judged men – often implicitly white, cisgender, heterosexual men – to be undergoing a crisis that was the fault of feminism and progressive movements more broadly. The MRAs today constitute a significant subsection of the “manosphere”, and as Data & Society’s Alice Marwick and Rebecca Lewis note, is “defined as much against feminism as it is for men’s rights”.³

Pick-Up Artists (PUA): PUAs are a subculture within the “manosphere” that, as the Southern Poverty Law Centre describes, focusses “on teaching men how to manipulate women into sex, all the while constantly disparaging women and the idea of consent”. The PUA community snowballed online, receiving mainstream attention in the 2000s, and sections of it have become increasingly politicised.⁴

Trolling: The act of being deliberately offensive or provocative online with the aim of provoking an outraged reaction. A particularly extreme, antagonistic and taboo-breaking troll culture has developed on messaging sites such as 4chan over the past decade, and trolling often has a misogynistic, homophobic, racist and/or antisemitic nature, influencing the conduct of sections of the modern online far right.

White Genocide: A conspiracy theory alleging that there is a deliberate plan to undermine European white society through a campaign of mass immigration, integration and miscegenation conducted by sinister, often Jewish elites. Various permutations of this theory allege that feminism, LGBTQ+ rights and other progressive causes are also part of a nefarious scheme to lower white birth rate. The theory has become a cornerstone of far-right conspiratorial antisemitism.

OVERVIEW

This joint report from HOPE not hate and Antisemitism Policy Trust explores the overlap and interplay between antisemitism and misogyny in a series of articles, case studies and social media analysis.

The report investigates the ways in which anti-feminism and misogyny can act as slip roads towards antisemitism and other forms of racism, due to a perceived loss of status among white men – and women – based on gender and racial hierarchies. In recent years, the antisemitic far right, in particular, has become increasingly adept at steering antipathy to feminism and women more broadly towards Jew-hatred, reasserting men's status at the expense of others.

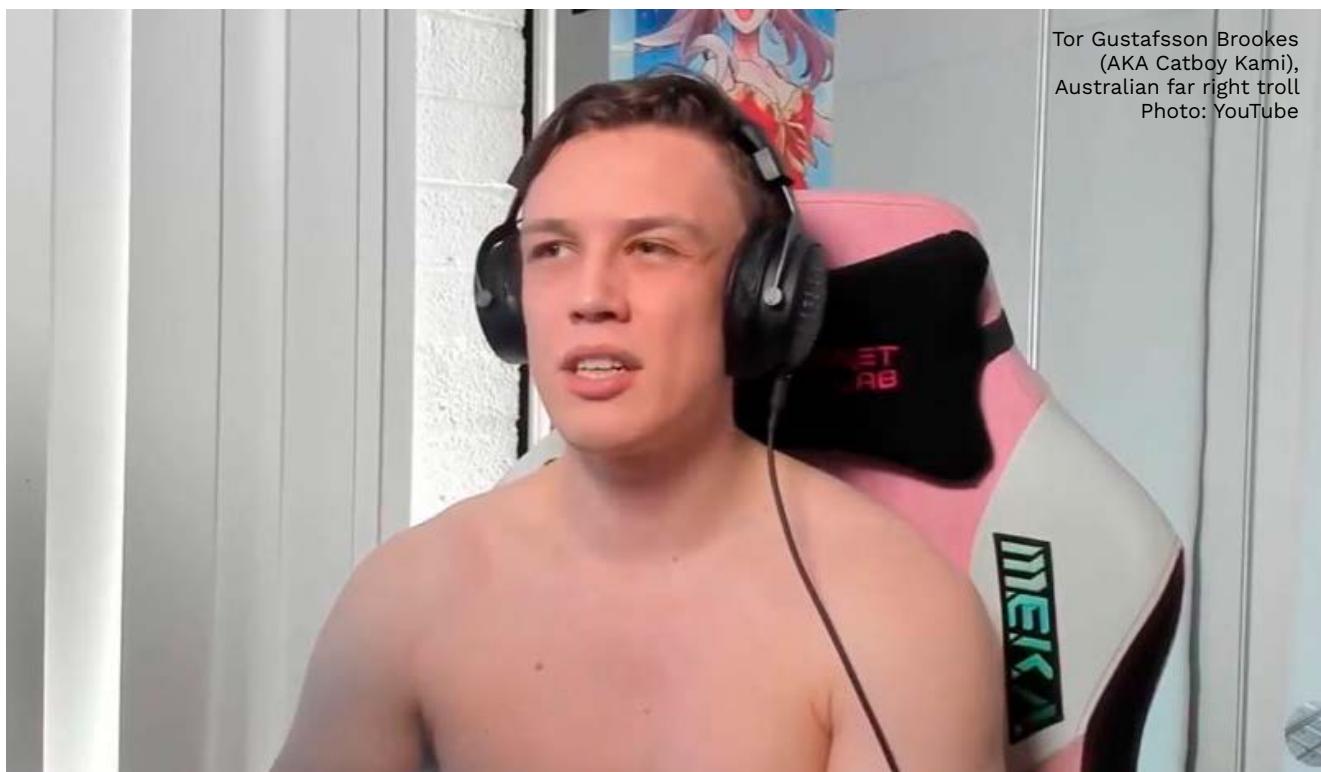
It also outlines the role of conspiracy theories in bridging anti-feminism and antisemitism, in particular the “Cultural Marxism” and “White Genocide” ideologies that implicitly or explicitly position Jews as the root of feminism and women’s behaviour in general. Such theories can provide a grand context for personal frustrations and prejudices, as well as scapegoats.

We explore the ways in which Jewish people are gendered in antisemitic discourse, outlining longstanding stereotypes of Jewish men and particularly Jewish women who, being on the receiving end of both antisemitism and misogyny, are the targets of especially vile abuse.

We also look into the important, but precarious, role of women in antisemitic movements as recruiters and propagandists, including several of the UK's best-known Holocaust deniers. Women can play a conscious role in “softening” extreme prejudice, although they can also quickly become targets for abuse themselves.

This report also includes an analysis of misogyny and gender politics on the messaging app Telegram, a key online hub for the antisemitic far right. We found that open misogyny is widespread and enabled within antisemitic spaces on the platform. Attacks on gay men are especially commonplace, which itself indicates the heterosexual male dominance of these spaces. Sexual assault is a prominent theme, and whilst it is discussed in a variety of ways, pro-rape comments are not uncommon.

Tor Gustafsson Brookes
(AKA Catboy Kami),
Australian far right troll
Photo: YouTube



THE POLITICS OF WHITE MALE GRIEVANCE

Anti-feminism, misogyny and antisemitism intersect, with the former prejudices potentially acting as pathways towards the latter. Resentments stemming from the belief that women's struggle for equality threatens men can move towards racist resentments among white men – and women – about what they see as a loss of status, based on racial hierarchies. In recent years, the antisemitic far right has become increasingly adept at steering antipathy to feminism and women more broadly towards Jew-hatred, reasserting men's status at the expense of others.

Whilst not all misogynists share racist or antisemitic views, strongly patriarchal gender norms have long been integral to far-right politics, and the essentially gendered nature of racial prejudices is receiving growing scholarly and journalistic attention. As scholars Paola Bacchetta and Margaret Power note, “Right-wing ideologies, whether forged by male or female ideologues, are always gendered and elicit gendered responses; gender is central to what makes them tick”⁵. However, the online antisemitic far right is exploiting misogyny and anti-feminism in new ways and forging fresh connections, meaning this overlap is an increasingly pressing area of research.

THE WIDER CONTEXT

This slip road is especially concerning given the prevalence of anti-feminist sentiment in the UK, especially among young men. Broadly, views about gender equality seem to be improving in the UK, with the 2018 British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey finding that the traditional gender roles of men as breadwinners and women as homemakers are increasingly unpopular.⁶ However, retrograde attitudes remain entrenched in certain sections of society, and online anti-feminists remain vocal and in some cases organised, creating space for the legitimisation of misogyny. Polling of 16-24 year olds commissioned by HOPE not hate in May 2020 (detailed in the sidebar) has found a prevalent belief that feminism holds men back, with believers in this claim also more likely to hold problematic views around race and to support antisemitic conspiracy theories. These narratives speak to broader resentments and reassert the status quo by targeting those attempting to disrupt this order.⁷

Moreover, whilst the BSA found that the overwhelming majority (93%) of Brits believe that the sexist online bullying of women is wrong, the harassment of women online remains a global issue. As the Antisemitism Policy Trust argue, the internet has provided new channels for perpetuating violence against women, often using gendered slurs, objectification and the minimisation of female agency; “the oppression of women that existed in the ‘real world’ was simply transferred and translated to online frameworks”⁸. Research conducted by the United Nations in 2015 found that, globally, women are 27 times more likely than men to be harassed online.⁹ In the UK, research from Amnesty International has found that one in five women had suffered online abuse or harassment; of these, almost half said the abuse was sexist or misogynistic, with 27% saying sexual or physical assault was threatened. The same study found that the psychological impact of the abuse they received had often severe offline consequences.¹⁰

Some opportunists within the antisemitic far right have identified online pools of gender-based resentment as fertile recruiting grounds. Whilst anti-feminism is relatively widespread, as are negative, stereotyped views about ethnic “Others”, conspiratorial Jew-hatred tends to be highly abstract and so has to be “taught”¹¹. By weaving antisemitic tropes into anti-feminist propaganda and positioning feminism and other progressive causes as part of a Jewish scheme, this abstract hatred can be made personal. As explored elsewhere in this report, the conspiratorial narrative of Jewish control has the potential to become an all-encompassing worldview through which all grievances can be explained, including the perceived “war against men”. Whilst only a small minority of anti-feminists and misogynists tread the path towards hard-line antisemitism, gender politics remains a route through which antisemitic messages can penetrate the mainstream with greater force.

THE MANOSPHERE AND THE CONTEMPORARY FAR RIGHT

An important influence on the gender politics of the contemporary online far right is the “manosphere”, a loose collection of websites, forums, blogs and vlogs concerned with men’s

issues and masculinity, oriented around a hard-line rejection of feminism and, within parts, the embrace of extreme misogyny. Core concepts and terminology of the manosphere have informed the antisemitic discourse of sections of the modern far right.

There are numerous subcultures within the manosphere, many of which are in vociferous disagreement with one another, but they are broadly united by the belief that feminism promotes misandry (prejudice against men) rather than equality for women. Whilst many of the ideas and issues that occupy the manosphere are inherently misogynistic, others, such as concerns about male homelessness and suicide, are issues of legitimate societal concern. However, instead of meaningfully engaging with these topics, the manosphere seeks to blame such issues on feminism, progressive politics, and women in general, often using conspiratorial language.¹²

As Simon Murdoch has outlined, the manosphere began to coalesce online in the late 2000s and by the mid-2010s had become increasingly politicised, conspiratorial and, in some cases, antisemitic. Key manosphere figures sought to reshape the grievances of their audiences, framing personal issues in the context of wider perceived social injustices, often supporting their explanations with pseudo-academic theories derived from evolutionary psychology.¹³ Applying a cold view of human interactions as mere bargaining, much of the manosphere came to view feminist inroads into the public sphere, combined with the freedoms of the sexual revolution, as a disastrous misstep for society, enabling women to prioritise their own autonomy over their biological and moral “duties” to the family. Moreover, feminism came to be viewed as just one offensive in a wider onslaught of progressive values besieging men, and white men in particular. Sections of the manosphere emphasised a process of “remasculinisation” and the return to a hypermasculine patriarchy in order to address this perceived loss of status.

This ideological shift occurred in part because of the bleeding of the manosphere into the “alt-right”, a loose, tech-savvy far-right movement that mobilised around former President Donald Trump’s 2016 presidential campaign. The alt-right sought to update white nationalism for the 21st century and is notable in its “metapolitical” approach – i.e. it aims to shift culture to the right, believing political change will naturally follow – and for the centrality of gender politics to its worldview, rivalling racism and antisemitism for prime importance.

Whilst some of the alt-right’s central activists and organisations have diminished in influence since the mid-2010s, and many have disavowed the label, the movement has significantly influenced the contemporary far right ideologically and organisationally, including in the UK. For example,

the UK’s largest fascist, antisemitic movement, Patriotic Alternative (PA), draws heavily from the alt-right playbook, using a slew of social media personalities to extend its reach and adopting various forms of online activism in tandem with its more traditional far-right tactics. Leading figures of PA formerly identified with the alt-right.

“PROTECTING” AND ATTACKING WOMEN

Most far-right ideologies ultimately aim to establish identity and status for white men who feel aggrieved. As far-right ideologies view the world as divided into strict hierarchies, the project of restoring status for white men revolves around subjugating women and minoritised ethnic communities. In the contemporary far right, dominance over women is achieved through both “protecting” and attacking them, with both approaches overlapping, in differing respects, with antisemitism.¹⁴

Traditional, patriarchal gender roles place men as the “protector” of women, who play reproductive, familial roles, with this dominance framed in terms of chivalry and natural duty rather than aggression.¹⁵ For men to inhabit the masculine “protector” role of “their” women and nation, an external threat is necessary, and scholars such as Kimberlé Crenshaw have underlined that white masculinity is framed not just in relation to women, but (as referenced earlier) also to ethnic Others.¹⁶ This perceived threat has traditionally been invoked in the form of the hypersexualised Black/Muslim rapist, an enduring figure in far-right discourse. However, as outlined elsewhere in this report, there is also a longstanding, albeit now more marginal, tradition positioning Jews as sinister, corrupting influence on white women, imperilling them by encouraging an influx of rapacious immigrants, and attacking the family through feminism, subversive propaganda, abortion and much else. Attacks on Jews and other ethnic minorities under the pretence of “protecting” women thus play into a wider project of remasculinisation.

Paradoxically, however, patriarchal narratives of “protection” co-exist with an open, dehumanising misogyny that has become pronounced in sections of the contemporary far right. Fed in part by the manosphere, women are routinely degraded as sexual objects, in part because a virile heterosexuality is a common indicator of masculine status. As Angela Nagle states, this behaviour stems from feelings of male entitlement, of wanting “the benefits of tradition without its necessary restraints and duties”.¹⁷

Sections of the modern far right also periodically engage in misogynistic harassment campaigns designed to force women offline, or out of public roles in their movements.

Such campaigns draw from a troll culture that has developed on sites such as 4chan and has seeped

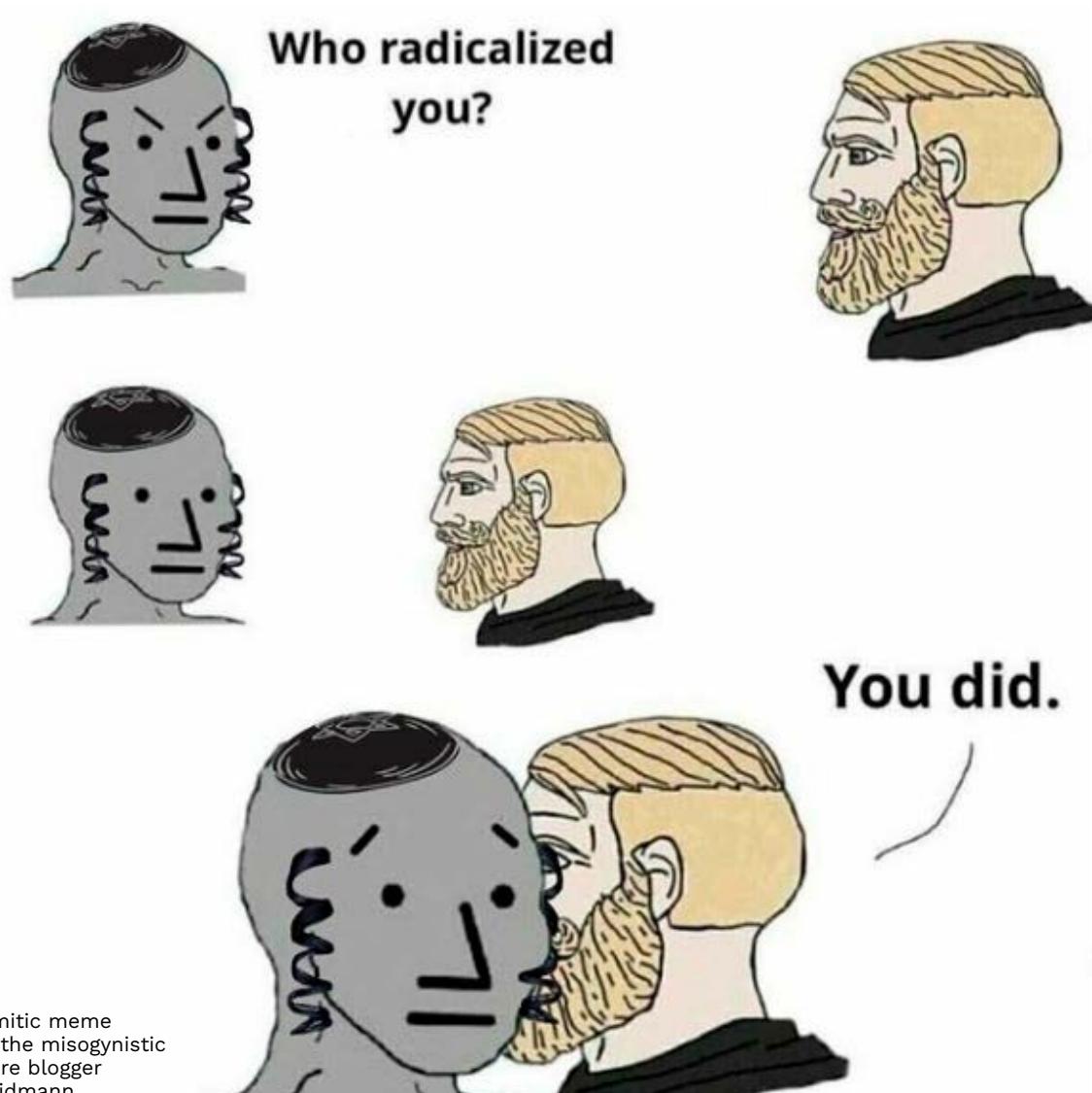
into the contemporary online far right. Many young misogynists and antisemites have been radicalised in an internet culture that promotes an extreme, antagonistic attitude towards liberal conventions and delights in violating accepted social taboos, often doing so under a thin veneer of "humour". Feminists and left-wing women are common targets as they are seen as embodying the controlling, authoritarian "political correctness" of the liberal status quo, but such attacks can broaden to women in general.

This "edgy", transgressive tendency has also helped facilitate the normalisation of extreme antisemitism among sections of the contemporary far right. Overt Jew-hatred and Holocaust denial remains taboo in Anglophone countries, and thus is especially alluring to some elements seeking to provoke maximum outrage. This tendency can develop beyond casual disrespect, however, and there are documented cases of trolling leading to the sincere acceptance of far-right politics, including extreme antisemitism.¹⁸ Anti-feminism and anti-"liberal" trolling can be an entry point

into the politics of transgression, which can steer towards antisemitism.

Gender and race-based trolling is an effort to raise men's status by degrading others, and can have a spiralling effect. A one-upmanship in "edginess" and aggression means that far-right spaces can become incubators for ever-more extreme rhetoric and ideas, both in relation to women and minoritised ethnic groups.

Violent rhetoric towards women, Jews and other ethnic minorities should not be shrugged off as mere fantasy. When suffering acute feelings of shame and emasculation, violence can be viewed as a way to restore manhood.¹⁹ In recent years, terrorist attacks have stemmed both from the online extreme right and the manosphere (primarily the "incel", or "involuntary celibate", subsection), and these atrocities have been celebrated online by sympathisers within those communities. Whilst these overtly violent subcultures exist on the extreme fringes, they continue to pose a credible terrorist threat.



An antisemitic meme shared by the misogynistic manosphere blogger James Weidmann

ATTITUDES TOWARDS FEMINISM AND ANTISEMITIC CONSPIRACY THEORY AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

The findings discussed below were analysed at length in HOPE not hate's Young People in the Time of COVID-19 report, authored by Rosie Carter, published in July 2020.²⁰

The relationship between misogyny and racism and antisemitism is particularly concerning due to the pervasiveness of anti-feminist sentiment among young men in the UK. HOPE not hate's May 2020 polling of 16-24 year olds found that while young people broadly share more socially liberal views than older generations, many young men hold problematic views around both race and gender. Moreover, it found a clear trend among young people that those who claim to believe that feminism holds men back are also far more likely to claim belief in antisemitic conspiracy theories.

YOUNG PEOPLE AND ANTI-FEMINISM

When comparing our May 2020 poll to our December 2019 poll of the wider public, we found that while young people held consistently more progressive views than older generations, there was no substantial difference with regards to feminism, with 36% of young people regarding it as an ideology that displaces men.

Young people who feel strongly that "feminism has gone too far and makes it harder for men to succeed" were overwhelmingly male (78%), are less optimistic about the future and are more likely to feel disappointed by their life so far; they are also more likely to feel a lack of control over their own lives.

Compared to the wider sample, this cohort was also roughly twice as likely to think that making a joke based on someone's race or religion is acceptable, and more than twice as likely to think that discrimination against white people has become as big a problem as discrimination against non-white people. This group was also almost twice as likely to believe that "having a wide variety of backgrounds and cultures has undermined British culture". This group was also far more likely to have watched, listened to or read something by far right figures like the anti-Muslim conspiracy theorist Paul Joseph Watson or the English Defence League founder Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA "Tommy Robinson"), and were more likely to have watched, listened or read something from Pick-Up Artists.

ANTISEMITISM

Worryingly, the same poll also found an openness to antisemitism among many young people. 14% of all young people polled, and 19% of young men, claimed they believed that "Jewish people have an unhealthy control over the world's banking system". However, of those who strongly agree that feminism suppresses men, over a third (38%) said that this statement is true (20% "probably true" and 18% "definitely true"). This compares to just 5% among those who strongly disagree that feminism holds men back (4% "probably true" and 1% "definitely true").

Moreover, 15% of all young people polled, and 20% of young men, said it was true that "the official account of the Nazi Holocaust is a lie and the number of Jews killed by the Nazis during World War II has been exaggerated on purpose". Among those who strongly agreed that feminism makes it harder for men to succeed, a staggering 35% claimed that they believed this statement was true (17% "definitely true", 18% "probably true"). Those who reject feminism were also much more open to other, less harmful conspiracy theories (for example the idea that the moon landings were staged).

It must be noted that due to the capital some seek by being "outrageous" or "controversial" in contemporary online culture, it is difficult to gauge whether all of those who claimed to agree with these statements genuinely believe them. This is especially the case as this provocative behaviour is widespread among young men, and can frequently occur in relation to both gender issues, and also towards the Holocaust. Moreover, there are difficulties when polling conspiracy theories, as some respondents may be encountering such claims for the first time when asked on the survey, and thus inflate estimates of how widely conspiracy theories are believed.²¹

Nonetheless, a cavalier response to these statements shows a disregard for the severity of the issues at hand, indicates a reactionary response to official narratives, and an openness to questioning the existence of discrimination and prejudice.

- Sample: 2,076 adults aged 16-24 who were sampled from across Great Britain. Fieldwork was carried out between 20 – 26 May 2020.

CASE STUDY: CATBOY KAMI

Tor Gustafsson Brookes (AKA Catboy Kami) is an Australian far-right troll who has gained a global following for his highly inflammatory brand of racism, antisemitism and misogyny, presenting a case study into the use of trolling and “humour” as a means to radicalisation.

Brookes rose to prominence in 2020 for his goading racist stunts on the chat site Omegle, which randomly pairs users in video chat sessions, enabling far-right actors to abuse women and minorities and to introduce far-right talking points to strangers.²² Brookes’ activities include wearing blackface, dressing as a grotesque antisemitic caricature and regularly mocking the death of George Floyd, including re-enacting his murder. He also directed misogynist abuse towards women and girls on the site, targeting Black women in particular. Brookes streamed his activities on YouTube, and clips were circulated by supporters on TikTok and numerous other platforms. In doing so, Brookes became a celebrity among the online far right, popularising Omegle trolling and giving rise to a number of imitators.

By coating his activities in a thin veneer of humour, Brookes is following in a long far-right tradition. Michael Billig, for example, has observed that jokes enable a more socially acceptable means of breaking taboos, and often entail an expression of aggression towards targets, often through unflattering stereotypes, whilst enabling recourse to the excuse “it was just a joke”.²³ However, underneath Brookes’ puerile trolling is a sincerely-held Nazism, and he has established links to the organised far right in the US, including attending a pro-Trump “Stop the Steal” rally in Phoenix, Arizona in 2020. Brookes’ “humorous” trolling is thus a potentially potent radicaliser.²⁴

This is especially the case as, after his bans from mainstream platforms, he has established a large and highly active supporter base on poorly moderated alternatives. Particularly notable are his group chats on the messaging app Telegram; his English-language group currently has almost 11,000 members and is extremely active, with well over 4 million posts made in little over a year. He has also built a large Russian following, with a primarily Russian-language chat of 6,400 subscribers, in which more than 1.5 million posts have been made since July 2020. These spaces, home to an incessant feed of racist and misogynist propaganda, are a crucible for radicalisation.

Brookes typifies the latent tension between traditional, patriarchal far right attitudes and the wilfully offensive trolling and open misogyny

typical in much of the contemporary online far right. For example, he explained to a white woman on Omegle that he hates Black people because:

[...] they attack white women, and white women are part of me, they’re part of us, they’re part of our race, they’re part of our people, and as a man it’s my job to protect the vulnerable of my people. So if there’s anything that threatens the vulnerable of my people, be it women or children, or anything like that, it’s my job to hate that”.

He also claimed that he wanted to lead young white men to adopt a similarly protective stance, warning them away from making light of sexual violence:

“I’m trying to tell more men to be like me, when I say it’s our job to protect women, and stuff like that [...] I just try to tell as many men as possible, and I try to show them – look, this is what women want. And the sad part is that in the right wing, which is where people are aware of the dangers of blacks and stuff like that, there is a lot of propaganda that comes from our enemies that say that men need to be against women. Or, they make jokes about raping women and stuff like that, and it doesn’t make you a man to subscribe to that kind of thing, it makes you less of a man, it makes you below a person actually, makes you a traitor. Anyone who is a threat to their own people is just as bad as any fucking n***er.”

[...] These are the kinds of guys that in 2015 were probably watching all the anti-feminism videos on YouTube, and yet they’ve fallen for the male version of it. Feminism is women against men, and now there’s a lot of incel men on the right, dysgenic men on the right, that are all about men against women, it’s the same thing, just in reverse.”

Undercutting this supposedly principled, patriarchal stance, Brookes has also used Omegle to abuse women of all ethnicities on the basis of their appearance. His English-speaking chat group on Telegram contains numerous rape “jokes” and rape threats, some of them made by himself, for example: “If you’re ever alone in a room with a girl and don’t try to rape her she’ll lose respect for you”. In doing so, he is helping to normalise hatred and violence towards women among his considerable following.

THE RED PILL: ANTI-FEMINISM, ANTISEMITISM AND CONSPIRACY THEORIES

In the 1999 film *The Matrix*, the character Morpheus offers the protagonist Neo a choice between taking “the red pill”, i.e. accepting the harsh truth that the world he had believed to be real was in fact a lie, or “the blue pill”, i.e. continuing to live in blissful ignorance. By the mid-2010s, the term “taking the red pill” found widespread popularity across far right and online conspiratorial subcultures, used to describe the process of awakening to some vital aspect of reality that shadowy forces had supposedly hidden, such as Jewish world control. However, it had already found regular online use several years earlier in the manosphere, used to indicate the “realisation” that men have been duped by feminists and that society favours women at the expense of men. The newly “red-pilled” could imagine that they, like Neo, were joining a noble struggle against the sinister controllers, distinguishing them from the mindless docility of mainstream society.

The popularity of the metaphor across these subcultures points to the fact that ideological anti-feminism and antisemitism are both, to varying degrees, underpinned by conspiracy theories. Moreover, this shared conspiratorial mind-set can provide a link between the two prejudices, as established anti-feminist and antisemitic conspiracy theories have significant areas of overlap. The idea that feminism and women’s freedoms more broadly are part of a sweeping anti-white conspiracy is a mainstay of modern far-right antisemitic belief, a worldview that can provide a grand context for the personal frustrations and prejudices of young men and women.

DOWN THE RABBIT HOLE

Conspiracy theories are attractive in part because they impose a sense of order on disordered circumstances, with believers tending to read intention into seemingly random events and viewing unrelated events as interconnected. Belief in one conspiracy theory indicates openness to others, as they are fed not by logic but by an instinctive distrust in mainstream narratives, which itself tends to be rooted in pessimism about one’s future and a perceived lack of control of one’s life.²⁵ However, they can also weaponise

feelings of generalised grievance by ascribing blame to an identifiable enemy, meaning they can act as a dangerous form of propaganda against particular target groups.²⁶

As Simon Murdoch has outlined, anti-feminist conspiracy theories are rife in the manosphere, but their inherently contradictory nature entails deeper conspiracies. For example, one key anti-feminist conspiracy theorist is Paul Elam (AKA “The Happy Misogynist”), who runs A Voice For Men (AVFM), a central website of the manosphere’s Men’s Rights Activist (MRA) community. Elam believes that men are “indentured servants to a malicious matriarchy”, but, as Christa Hoddap notes, there is an obvious inconsistency in the depiction of feminists as both all-controlling but also unintelligent. This opens the door for the idea that they are simply puppets controlled by more sinister, more capable forces.²⁷ Hoddap points to the following quote from Elam:

“Feminism is not for feminists. Feminists are idiots, but they are useful idiots in the description previously reserved [for] the Soviet sycophants in Cold War America. Feminism, in reality, is for governments and corporations. And it is the most effective tool for control of the masses since the riot baton and water cannons. Feminists are not a bunch of nut cases that have taken over the world. They’re just a bunch of nut cases that have assisted some really smart and devious people in erasing any impediments they might have ever had at putting a leash on all of us.”

Whilst Elam does not directly identify these “devious people”, this statement is ripe for antisemitic interpretations. Conspiratorial antisemitism has deep roots in alternative conspiracy traditions, with Jews having been blamed for various calamities and alleged malign plots for centuries. Indeed, antisemitic tropes so pervade the genre that for some the role of the supposed Jewish conspirators is implicitly understood, and does not need to be named. Elam himself rejects antisemitism, but in 2017 admitted himself that AVFM has attracted antisemites “for years”.²⁸

CULTURAL MARXISM AND WHITE GENOCIDE

One major tradition that straddles conspiratorial anti-feminism and antisemitism is the longstanding “Cultural Marxism” conspiracy theory, which alleges that sinister left-wingers embedded in academic, cultural and political institutions are subversively working to promote progressive causes. Many promoters of the theory allege that these forces are deliberately brainwashing populations and undermining the West, with feminism viewed as one front in a wider attack.

As Antisemitism Policy Trust has highlighted, the term has been increasingly sanitised in recent years, and is now sometimes used as a colloquial analogy for political correctness.²⁹ For example, in November 2020, a group of 20 Conservative MPs wrote to *The Telegraph* alleging that British values were in danger of being “coloured by cultural Marxist dogma, colloquially known as the ‘woke agenda’”. Perhaps most significantly the term has been used by Jordan Peterson, a clinical psychologist who has reached international fame for his culture war rhetoric and rejection of “political correctness” around gender identity, becoming something of a lifestyle guru for young men. Our May 2020 polling found that two in five young men said they had read, watched or listened to something by Peterson.³⁰

This sanitisation of Cultural Marxism is particularly concerning, as the theory has roots in the flagrantly antisemitic campaigns against “Cultural Bolshevism” of the Third Reich, and its antisemitic undertones remain intact. The theory thus represents a significant area of ideological and rhetorical overlap between relatively mainstream anti-feminists and hard-core neo-Nazis.

One notable example of the theory leading anti-feminists into deeper conspiratorial waters can be found in Daryush Valizadeh (AKA “Roosh V”), perhaps the most notorious “Pick Up-Artist” (PUA) of the manosphere (explored in more depth elsewhere in this report). In 2016, Valizadeh penned an article titled “How A Small Cabal Is Using Socialism & Cultural Marxism to Consolidate World Power”, in which he wrote:

“For over ten years, I thought that feminism was more-or-less a grassroots movement propelled by uppity women to assert their superiority over men, and while that may be subjectively true for the useless idiot feminist who thinks she is fighting the patriarchy, she’s actually part of a top-down socialist movement that attempts to collectivize and centralize nations to allow for seamless control over global wealth, resources, and power that hapless citizens go along with in the name of “progress” and “equality”.”

Valizadeh is now a dedicated, hard-line antisemite, and has claimed that his popular manosphere website, Return of Kings, has “Jew-pilled thousands of men”.

The above passage hints at the “Globohomo” theory, a more recent offshoot of Cultural Marxism that alleges that elites in the media, business and other institutions are seeking to eradicate differences between cultures and/or ethnic groups in order to impose a global “uniculture”. Promoters often claim that the Globohomo scheme is “feminising” or otherwise “weakening” populations by pushing feminism, sexual freedom, gender fluidity, liberal values and immigration. The theory, which is usually overtly antisemitic, was popularised by James C. Weidmann (AKA “Roissy in DC”), another PUA who, through his blog “Chateau Heartiste”, has played a highly significant role in merging the manosphere with white supremacist politics.

Cultural Marxism and Globohomo notions easily tie into other “superconspiracies”, grand overarching narratives capable of merging numerous pre-existing sub-conspiracies. The notion that Jews are using feminism, LGBT+ rights and other progressive causes to attack the white race is also integral to the broader “White Genocide” conspiracy theory, which alleges that (usually) Jewish conspirators are engaged in a sustained, subversive campaign to destroy white populations in their homelands by lowering white birth rates and promoting immigration and miscegenation. Versions of the theory have long histories in the British far right, promoted by prominent antisemites in the 1950s to explain the arrival of non-white immigrants.³¹ One key promoter today is Mark Collett, a former leading light in the British National Party (BNP) and current leader of Patriotic Alternative, the most significant fascist group currently active in the UK. In Collett’s eyes:



“Feminism is just part of the insidious attack on the West. It was devised by the same devious minds that brought us pornography, materialism, individualism and communism. Feminism wasn’t created to help Western females. It was created to turn them against their natural callings, in yet another effort by the internationalists to smash the cornerstone of our society, the nuclear family, and leave those of European descent with a reduced birth rate. Feminism was created as another tool to speed the demographic demise of those of European descent.”

This focus on declining white birth rates enables the reassertion of control over women’s sexuality, with the likes of Collett, Weidmann and Valizadeh advocating the rolling back of reproductive rights and the broad confinement of women to the domestic sphere.

White Genocide is the central conspiracy theory of the modern antisemitic far right, an all-encompassing worldview through which issues as wide-ranging as the economy, politics, media and race relations, down to personal unemployment, lack of relationships, and social media bans can be explained. Despite the extremeness of these ideas, however, they can reach huge audiences before incurring censorship from social media companies.

For example Felix Lace (AKA “Black Pigeon Speaks”), a Canadian YouTuber based in Japan, has, at time of writing, 523,000 subscribers and has received almost 48 million views on the platform. Lace promotes a version of the White Genocide theory, claiming that Muslim immigration is being encouraged by parasitic international bankers, such as George Soros and the Rothschild family, in order to demographically replace white populations.³² In one video, his most popular on YouTube before its removal from the platform, he rails against women’s sexual freedoms and political enfranchisement, linking them to White Genocide:

“If women’s sexual preferences are liberated and go unchecked, they destroy civilisations. If women are allowed to choose, harems form. If women are allowed a voice in matters that pertain to the safety of the nation then that nation will die inevitably.

[...] Not only are women not punished for inviting alien and unassimilable armies of men into the West, they then vote for parties that force the entire society to have its national wealth redistributed to this army of aggressive hostile men. And women who are in positions of power even openly celebrate the destruction that they bring upon their people and openly taunt those that seek to retain their culture and

civilization from obliteration [...]”

In another video, he directly links the personal frustrations of his young male viewers to his conspiratorial view:

“Sexual freedom for women is now destroying Western civilisation. Islam’s control over women is partly what gives it its powerful “civilisational energy” that is allowing it to conquer the West. It is also the reason most young men can’t get a date!”

Lace is resented by some hard-line white nationalists for his perceived ideological impurity, but he has also been credited for “red pilling” large new audiences.³³

THE THREAT

Whilst it is impossible to know how seriously most conspiracy theorists take their beliefs and when they will act on them, in extreme cases such notions can have highly damaging consequences. The Christchurch killer, who murdered 51 worshippers in a New Zealand mosque in March 2019, titled his manifesto “The Great Replacement”, a variant of the White Genocide theory, and it opens with the lines: “It’s the birthrates. It’s the birthrates. It’s the birthrates”. The screed was celebrated on the forum 8chan, with one popular post articulating the perceived threat: “The endgame of globohomo is to make everyone a weak, mongrelized, degenerated, passive-aggressive tranny cuck worshipping the [Jew].”³⁴ The Halle synagogue attacker, who killed three in Germany in October the same year, claimed in the livestream of his attack that feminism was to blame for dropping birth rates and mass migration, both of which were ultimately the doing of “the Jew”. In his interrogation, he blamed his lack of sexual relationships on foreigners.³⁵ There are further such examples.

Conspiracy theories are both attractive and dangerous because they provide simple frameworks through which the world is understood. Toxic notions that blend anti-feminism and antisemitism can result in worldviews which interpret women’s rights to be attacks against the West, and through which everyday interactions with women can be perceived as steps towards the eradication of the white race.

CASE STUDY: ROOSH V

Daryush Valizadeh (AKA “Roosh V”) is an infamous pick-up artist (PUA) turned hard-line antisemite, and offers a notable case study in the role of conspiracy theories in broadening the hatred of women to the hatred of Jews.

Valizadeh first became popular in the manosphere for a book series, begun in 2007, which details his “ruthlessly optimised process” for seducing women. He founded the Return of Kings (RoK) blog in 2012, notable for its particularly misogynistic content, including a notorious 2015 article calling for the legalisation of rape on private property, since dismissed by him as “satire”.³⁶

Valizadeh became popular, in part, for weaving wider cultural analysis into his PUA writings, which, alongside a handful of other bloggers - notably the ideological racist James Weidmann - marked a shift in the subculture. As Simon Murdoch has explained, Valizadeh and Weidmann interpreted the motivation for PUA - i.e. their readership’s inability to seduce women - as a symptom of the influence of feminism and progressivism on society, supporting their theories with pseudo-academic evolutionary psychology.³⁷ Gradually a conspiratorial worldview crystallised that combined anti-feminism with anti-socialist and anti-immigrant sentiment and narratives of cultural collapse.

Valizadeh’s public shift into a more ideological antisemitism occurred in 2015, courtesy of Kevin MacDonald’s pseudo-scientific work *The Culture of Critique*, which posits that Judaism should be understood as a “group evolutionary strategy” that manipulates larger populations for their own interest. In his glowing review of the book, which included a graphic describing feminism as “A Jewish War on Women”, he claimed that feminism is “an ideology that developed with disproportionate Jewish support”.³⁸ The following year Valizadeh wrote an article titled “How A Small Cabal Is Using Socialism & Cultural Marxism to Consolidate World Power”, further signalling his association of feminism to Jewish conspiracies:

“For over ten years, I thought that feminism was more-or-less a grassroots movement propelled by uppity women to assert their superiority over men [...] she’s actually part of a top-down socialist movement that attempts to collectivize and centralize nations to allow for seamless control over global wealth, resources, and power that hapless citizens go along with in the name of “progress” and “equality.”



Valizadeh welcomed the merging of the manosphere and alt-right as a means of promoting “neomasculinity”, although his aforementioned rape-apology, combined with his Iranian heritage, made him controversial in the scene. He disavowed his former PUA activities as “degenerate, anti-family, and promiscuous”, adopting more traditional patriarchal positions, and in 2019 he converted to Christianity, subsequently banning talk of “fornication” from his forums. To Valizadeh, this was a natural progression - after taking the “red pill” and realising that feminists control society, men respond by becoming “black pilled”, i.e. nihilistic and often destructive. The “God pill” is the next natural step.³⁹

Valizadeh’s increasingly virulent antisemitism appears, in part, to be an attempt to reconcile himself with, and displace responsibility for, his former promiscuity. For example, in 2021 he penned a positive review of a book by E. Michael Jones titled *“Why Are Jews Behind Most Modern Evils?”*, in which he writes:

“If you decide to turn away from God, there will be a Jew to catch you with one of his degenerate movements, pseudo-intellectual ideologies, or money-making schemes. I fell for the Jewish trick of sexual liberation and paid dearly for it. Many others fall for greed, cosmopolitan living, new atheism, pornography, or the self-glorification that comes from Jewish-run social networking and dating apps. I must conclude that Jews are God’s punishment for those with weak faith. If you stray too far from God, you in essence become a Jew.”

Alongside his online activities, Valizadeh has organised a number of international speaking tours, and was banned from entering the UK in 2017. Despite his banning from most major social media sites, he continues to be a major figure straddling both the manosphere and the antisemitic far right.

CASE STUDY: BRONZE AGE PERVERT

Bronze Age Pervert (BAP) is a pseudonymous social media personality who has influenced understandings of masculinity among sections of the modern far right, spawning a host of imitators and receiving attention among the more mainstream American right-wing in the process.

BAP rose to prominence through Twitter, gaining 75,500 followers by the time of his ban from the platform in August 2021. In his unusual vernacular, BAP used the platform to fetishise hypermasculine ideals, in particular frequently posting eroticised images of athletic men and ridiculing the masculinity of his opponents. Like many on the far right, BAP makes heavy reference to classical antiquity, invoking both a sense of white male achievement and a lost past to be contrasted with modernity.

As Josh Vandiver of Ball State University writes, BAP is popular in part because he “plays upon key tropes, concerns and anxieties of the manosphere” such as “the self-help notion of a life-changing “mindset””, whilst marrying such concerns to far-right esotericism, notably the Traditionalism of Julius Evola. The Traditionalist conception of cyclical ages informs his understanding of masculinity, which “is palingenetic in aspiration, calling for radical forms of revival and rebirth in response to perceptions of catastrophic decline”.⁴⁰ Through remasculinising, men can touch the heroism and divinity of the Bronze Age, transcending the supposed decay of the modern era.

BAP self-published his book, *Bronze Age Mindset*, in June 2018, reaching #3 on Amazon’s bestselling list for Ancient Greek History.⁴¹ The book outlines an unwaveringly hierarchical worldview, featuring blistering critiques of minorities, women, and modern, supposedly emasculated liberal “bugmen”, interwoven with antisemitic tropes – to take a characteristic statement, “The defeated male that is turned into a peon and a neutered beast for women and hidden masters is a terrible thing to see”.

As is typical of the contemporary right, BAP blames women and feminism for masculine decline: “w*m*n [...] have an instinct to seek out ascending life and drain it...they and the species thereby achieve their goals, but you are bled dry and sometimes left a husk.” He links women’s rights to societal destruction:

“Nothing so ridiculous as the liberation of women has ever been attempted in the history of mankind. It is an act of complete insanity, disguised as “logic”, “reason”, presented in the most absurd legalisms about supposed “rights”. The

modern socialisms, the expansion of the power of the state that squashes all initiative and all life, the hypocrisy of all political life in our time – all of this is to be attributed to the participation of women in political life. [...] It is not women actually being free, but their “legal freedom,” a practical fiction, being used by a hidden power to oppress, to dispossess, to intimidate and extort. It took one hundred years of women in public life for them to almost totally destroy a civilization.”

In BAP’s eyes, the solution is not to disenfranchise women, as fascist leaders can harness their “wild and stupid enthusiasm” against the shadowy conspirators behind feminism:

“Women, after all, can still, even in the most debased condition, be made to call on their deep passions by a great leader. They voted for Hitler, Mussolini, and many others, with some enthusiasm. The enemy who “freed” them has made use of a great weapon: he has increased his power immensely and introduced a war into the house and life of every man. But this enemy also made a gamble and I believe, ultimately, a mistake...because women more than others will set their bodies on fire with passion for a savior and be willing to abandon the fear and love of comfort on which the modern state depends...them more than others, out of a wild and stupid enthusiasm.”

There is real extremism beneath BAP’s thinly coded statements; HOPE not hate has uncovered posts from his original Twitter account, deleted in 2017, in which he wrote: “for a kike faggot it must be inconceivable to forsake profit for honor”, and “Why would it be a surprise that a Jewish usurer supports fag “marriage”? He also wrote: “If you copulate with seductive Jewess, choose #Shephardic; Reform Ashkenazi whores are filthy”.

BAP’s reach in the contemporary far right is concerning, as he has inspired a host of similar social media personalities, including some in the UK; BAP can also be partially credited with the resurgence of “physique posting” on far-right online backwaters. His book received reviews from numerous right-wing outlets, including the *Claremont Review*, in which leading former national security advisor in Trump’s White House, Michael Anton, concluded: “In the spiritual war for the hearts and minds of the disaffected youth on the right, conservatism is losing. BAPism is winning”.⁴²

INTERSECTIONAL ABUSE OF JEWISH PEOPLE IN ANTISEMITIC DISCOURSE

Gendered or sexist antisemitism, that is anti-Jewish racism, against both women and men (and indeed those that identify as neither) has existed for hundreds of years. There are several gendered stereotypes of Jewish men. Some of these emanate from early Christian text, in which Jewish men were depicted as sexual deviants and predators who preyed on white Christian women. Jewish men have been accused of promiscuity and malicious sexual intent, and also of corrupting white women into degrading themselves, through promiscuity or promoting abortion, for example. The accusations of raping or seducing white women, also plays into the supremacist portrayals of Jewish men as a threat to the white race. In Nazi Germany, for example, antisemitic propaganda warned ‘Aryans’ about Jews’ sexual lure.⁴³ These characterisations, together with antisemitic tropes and visual images depicting Jewish men as repulsive; with large, hooked noses or devil-like; were used to dehumanise Jewish men and justify violence against them.⁴⁴

The stereotypes also framed Jewish men as an enemy and acted to enhance the image of certain white men as saviours and protectors, helping to bolster their ideal of superiority not only over Jewish men but gendered superiority over white women and mastery for the white race.

Whilst some tropes depict Jewish men as grotesque but powerful, other stereotypes view Jewish men as weak, emasculated and effeminate, with an ambiguous sexuality.⁴⁵ Nazi caricatures have combined both stereotypes, depicting Jewish men as oversexed but constrained by weak womanly physique.⁴⁶ The stereotype of the “Nice Jewish Boy”, prevalent mostly in American culture, including films, literature and theatre – although sometimes meant as a compliment – derives some of its characteristics from these earlier depictions of the Jewish men as effeminate. The Nice Jewish Boy is delicate, timid, lacking physical strength and other traits commonly attributed to masculinity, such as assertiveness and courage. Portrayals of these stereotypes will be familiar to many through Hollywood films like *American Pie* or novels like Philip Roth’s *Portnoy’s Complaint*.

Jewish women can experience different kinds of abuse: antisemitic abuse that has no relation to their gender; sexist abuse that is no relation

to their ethnicity; and gendered, or intersecting sexist antisemitic abuse, which is the focal point of this study. This means that beyond suffering abuse that is based on antisemitic stereotypes, Jewish women suffer from abuse that is sometimes based on stereotypes that combine sexism or gender discrimination and antisemitism.

Gendered or sexist antisemitism against Jewish women also dates back to the Middle Ages. Medieval Christian antisemitic tropes and images presented Jewish woman as castrating – including the castration and mutilation of Jesus.⁴⁷ Jewish women were commonly depicted from this early time as sexually deviant and unfaithful. Grotesque sexualised illustrations of Jewish women with the devil were widespread. Theological misogynistic antisemitism survived to modern times, but evolved to include less religious, but equally demonising, depictions of Jewish women. Nazi propaganda portrayed older Jewish women as grotesque, dirty and unhygienic, and young Jewish women as oversexed, promiscuous, and carrying sexually transmitted disease.⁴⁸ Both depictions are meant to dehumanise and inspire disgust of Jewish women, in contrast with the depiction of the Aryan women as beautiful, elegant, hardworking, loving mothers and wives, loyal to husband and country.⁴⁹

One of the most popular stereotypes today, most commonly used in the U.S., is that of the Jewish Princess. This has come to encompass age-old antisemitic tropes combined with sexism, to create a view of Jewish women as materialistic, money-grabbing and manipulative.⁵⁰ This stereotype has found its way into literature, movies, and humour.⁵¹

There has been widespread use of the Jewish Princess and the Nice Jewish Boy stereotypes by comedians and in jokes and comedy films – such as Goldie Hawn’s character in *Private Benjamin* and Ben Stiller’s in *Meet the Parents*. Deploying humour to subvert cultural taboos, such as racism and sexism, can be used to important effect in highlighting inequalities but can also perpetuate antisemitic stereotypes and normalise them. We have highlighted mainstream examples, but humour is also used by proponents of far-right ideologies online, in jokes, memes and caricatures. The use of humour is deployed strategically: it not only widens appeal and provides a way for extremists to post content on mainstream

platforms, but it also blurs the lines between mischief and content that can manipulate, radicalise and cause psychological harm to the intended target.⁵² Humour and irony are also used to normalise and trivialise violence.⁵³

Humour is one tool used by extremists but there are others. The reach of these racist stereotypes and intersectional attacks can be wide, irrespective of their provenance. Dr Jon Boyd from the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) has previously detailed research conducted by his organisation which found those holding antisemitic attitudes to constitute 2-3% of the British population, but the diffusion of such attitudes across society to be up to 30%. He noted that YouGov data has indicated British misogynists constitute 2-3% of the population, whilst misogynist ideas are held by some 30% of British people. The point being that women, in this case Jewish women, will encounter gendered antisemitism more than misogynist antisemites.⁵⁴ The hateful ideas which cross the boundary into mainstream spaces, have a potentially wide purchase and so working to counter them is imperative.

There is another frame used to try and demean Jewish women in white supremacist propaganda. That is the portrayal of Jewish women as men-hating feminists.⁵⁵ The Antisemitism Policy Trust (APT) and the Community Security Trust (CST) conducted research into gendered antisemitism online, published in 2019. The study included an analysis of the neo-Nazi website Stormfront, and found that over 9,000 threads posted since its inception related to feminism.⁵⁶ Of these, more than 60% mentioned Jews. By comparison, general threads on Stormfront mentioned Jews 39% of the time. One of the reasons provided for this, was that many of the website's users believed Jews to be leading, or responsible for the feminist movement.

Feminism, in particular, is viewed negatively; proponents of far-right ideology see themselves as victims of feminism, which they believe demonises and threatens them and what they perceive to be traditional Western values. Such values, for many on the far right, include gender hierarchy, that is a belief that women should be submissive and subservient to men. Similarly, many on the far right, including women, tend to perceive the improvement in women's rights and advancement of the fight for equality, twinned with the abandonment of a primary role as wife, mother or caregiver, as a threat to themselves, their world view and lived reality. At the extremes, individuals go beyond a core belief in inherent (white) male-superiority, and rather express hatred towards women in general, and especially towards women whom they view as an even greater challenge to their presumed white, male hegemony because of their race, religion or ethnicity.

Many far-right conspiracy theories, such as White Genocide (the belief that 'indigenous' white people are being deliberately 'replaced' by immigrant/black/other communities, orchestrated by sinister, often Jewish elites) and Cultural Marxism (used by some to allege a Jewish plot to subvert cultural mores)⁵⁷, can be characterised by a symbiosis between antisemitism and misogyny.⁵⁸ This toxic mix combines antisemitic tropes about Jewish power and a Jewish plan to destroy Western culture, with misogynist objection to feminist ideas of women's rights and equality. In some cases, men have been drawn to groups advocating these conspiracies because they were resentful of women and angry about their lack of success with women.⁵⁹ Social isolation or sexual frustrations can attract men, some of whom identify as involuntary celibates – or incels – to the "manosphere". Here they can be vulnerable to indoctrination into extreme misogyny and possibly into far-right, and antisemitic, conspiracy theories. Subscribing to these conspiracies provides an opportunity for incels – a relatively small and marginal group, but one also brutal towards women⁶⁰ – and to others who hold misogynist, anti-feminist views, to blame women – especially women from minoritised communities – for their unhappiness. In other cases, men who were attracted to far-right ideas and movements, were gradually indoctrinated to adopt misogynist views. These overlapping ideologies and groups on fringes of the manosphere and far-right can also draw from more mainstream internet spaces.

To take an individual example of someone with overlapping extremist views, the terrorist who killed 77 people in Norway in 2011, was a proponent of Cultural Marxism and White Genocide, as well as a staunch anti-feminist and an antisemite.⁶¹ He used both of the aforementioned conspiracy theories to justify his rampage of mass killing. In his manifesto, he wrote that the world is becoming increasingly feminised, that society is turning into a matriarchy and feminism will end European society as we know it.⁶²

Although hatred and prejudice towards both women and Jewish people is perhaps more widespread on extremist platforms, as we have set out, it also exists on mainstream platforms, where people with those characteristics can be directly targeted. Antisemitism and misogyny are also sometimes expressed by people whose views would not fall under the definition of far right or other extremist ideologies, but are more moderate by comparison. For example, the aforementioned Institute for Jewish Policy Research study, which found that roughly 30% of the population holds some degree of antisemitic attitudes, but that most of these people would not be categorised as antisemites.⁶³

Research by the Centre for Countering Digital Hate found 714 explicitly antisemitic posts on social

You should sleep with at LEAST 25 guys before settling down, and I'll tell you exactly why

Ideally more, but y'know, whatever



by Amanda Kaplowitz

An image implying that Jewish women are encouraging promiscuity for nefarious purposes. The cartoon is a variant of the antisemitic "Happy Merchant" meme popular among the online far right

media over a six week period in 2021. These were found on large, mainstream platforms (Facebook, YouTube, TikTok, Instagram and Twitter) and viewed collectively 7.3 million times. The study found that the companies failed to act on 84% of cases, with Facebook even promoting a post containing Holocaust denial, by labelling it.⁶⁴ Research on online misogyny by Demos, found that the word 'rape' deployed in a threatening manner, was used more than 10,000 times in UK Twitter accounts over a six-week period.⁶⁵ The Australian Online Hate Prevention Institute also found that misogyny and antisemitism are prevalent across the largest mainstream platforms.⁶⁶

This cross-pollination of different extremist groups towards intersectional abuse is particularly prevalent online, with intense anger, frustration and hatred directed against Jewish women and women of other ethnic minorities. Intersectionality, or overlapping, interdependent categories of gender, race, class and sexuality, for example, lend themselves to different individual experiences of discrimination and oppression. Women, who also belong to ethnic or religious minorities, such as Jewish women, experience online abuse that is different than the abuse suffered by Jewish men or white women. The intersection between anti-Jewish racism and prejudice against women, means that Jewish women suffer online abuse not only because they are women, and not only because they are Jewish, but an abuse that is unique to their intersection of characteristics and which can and does intensify prejudice and discrimination against them. For example, previous research conducted by HOPE not hate found that of

the female Members of the British Parliament suffering online abuse from far-right users, half were from a Black or Ethnic Minority background, even though their relative number is eight times smaller than white female MPs.⁶⁷ This is an indication that intersectionality of protected characteristics increases abuse against those who possess them. Given these movements are inherently antisemitic, hate towards Jewish women is likely to be greatly exacerbated.

A significant finding in the study by APT and CST referenced previously, is that female Jewish politicians were particularly targeted and received 14% more mentions than male Jewish politicians on Stormfront. Many of the mentions included negative comments about the female politicians' appearance, suggesting sexism was prevalent. The two female Jewish politicians receiving most mentions on the site, were Rt Hon Dame Margaret Hodge MP and former MP Luciana Berger.⁶⁸ The Antisemitism Policy Trust briefing on anti-Jewish misogyny also references a study by the American NGO Media Matters, which found a staggering 180% increase in posts containing both antisemitism and misogyny on the far-right anonymous message board 4chan between 2015 and 2017.⁶⁹ However, the two Jewish public figures mentioned above, and others, have faced relentless antisemitism and misogyny, on mainstream platforms, such as Twitter.⁷⁰

The findings about the racist and sexist abuse suffered by female Jewish politicians are consistent with other academic research. Several studies have found that female politicians across Europe and America suffer abuse from far-right sources, much of it concentrated on their gender. These political leaders are being targeted at a far higher rate than male politicians who hold similar views.⁷¹ The Speaker of the House of Common, Rt Hon Sir Lindsay Hoyle MP, has said that of all MPs, female Jewish and Muslim MPs face the most abuse. Online abuse of women tends to include comments about physical appearance and sexual comments, including threats of rape.⁷² It also includes misinformation about the individuals, which is sometimes sexualised – such as fake nude images or other fake pornography involving female politicians, and often the result of coordinated attacks.⁷³ This differs from abuse targeting men, which tends to concentrate on their professional duties.⁷⁴

The effects of targeted misogynistic abuse are not psychological alone. Such conduct can stop women from participating in public life,⁷⁵ deter them from contributing to online political discourse, marginalise their views, disadvantage them and hinder the democratic system as a whole.

CASE STUDY: THE DAILY STORMER

The Daily Stormer, arguably the most influential Nazi website in the English-speaking world, presents a notable case of a far-right propaganda engine consciously adopting overt misogyny in order to radicalise young men towards conspiratorial antisemitism, and weaponising trolling as a means to attack Jewish women.

Founded in 2013 by Andrew Anglin as an attempt to reach “all disenfranchised and angry White males under the age of thirty”,⁷⁶ the site became increasingly popular during the 2016 US presidential election campaign and played a key role in fostering the openly fascist and crudely misogynistic tendency within the alt-right. The Daily Stormer’s influence has declined since 2017, in part a result of a backlash from tech companies after the site labelled Heather Heyer, an antifascist who was murdered at an alt-right rally in August 2017, a “fat, childless, 32 year-old slut”. However, the site remains significant and has helped shape the tone and tactics of the contemporary extreme right.

Anglin is controversial among traditional white supremacists for the intensity of his misogyny, which includes pushing for “white sharia”, an extreme patriarchal fascist state incorporating elements of Islamic law. The site has also encouraged men to “stealth” women, i.e. secretly remove condoms during sex to forcefully impregnate them, in order to boost the white birth rate.⁷⁷ In 2018, Anglin admitted “Look, I hate women. I think they deserve to be beaten, raped and locked in cages”.⁷⁸

Whilst Anglin’s woman-hatred is undoubtedly sincere, it is also calculated. In 2015, he officially designated his site “a boys club”, explaining his reasons for banning women from the site:

“[...] by putting a focus on male issues, our movement is offering something to young men who are looking at their world. Whereas race can be an obscure concept for young Whites who haven’t been forced to deal with other races directly, and the Jewish problem can be downright esoteric, the problem of being forced into subservience to women, having your basic dignity taken from you as you are subjected to a level of degradation no man in history has ever been subjected to, is something we have all experienced as young men raised in a feminist society.

As such, the offer “we can free you

from women and give you back your masculinity and your power, as well as your tribal male-bonding patterns” means a whole lot more in real terms to young men – who currently have the option of living comfortably and playing video games, rather than fight anything at all – than “we have to stop these Jews for the sake of future generations”.

Anglin’s approach is to connect the behaviour of women to feminism, and feminism to a Jewish conspiracy, via blunt repetition. The leaked “style guide” for Daily Stormer contributors recommends a list of insults for women – such as “Slut, Whore, Bitch” – and states: “Whenever writing about women make sure to follow the prime directive and blame Jew feminism for their behaviour”. It goes on to state that “Women should be attacked, but there should always be mention that if it wasn’t for the Jews, they would be acting normally”.

Anglin couches antisemitism and misogyny in extreme terms, but often with a coating of “humour”, explaining that:

“The goal is to continually repeat the same points, over and over and over again. The reader is at first drawn in by curiosity or the naughty humor, and is slowly awakened to the reality by repeatedly reading the same points. [...] The indoctrinated should not be able to tell if we are joking or not.”

Anglin has openly stated that such “naughty humor” is a means to normalise extreme prejudice and violence whilst avoiding legal repercussions.

The site is also notable for weaponising its readership in a series of brutal harassment campaigns, particularly against Jewish women. This included a vicious campaign against the then-Labour MP Luciana Berger in 2014, after a member of the now-banned British Nazi group National Action was jailed for his antisemitic abuse of the MP. Dubbing the exercise “Operation: Filthy Jew Bitch”, Anglin offered practical advice on how to make anonymous Twitter accounts in order to bombard Berger with vile epithets, and she subsequently received over 2,500 abusive tweets.⁷⁹ Berger remained a semi-regular target for the site for five years. Another notable example was a 2016 campaign against a Montana-based Jewish woman, who was subjected to deluge of death threats after Anglin published her personal details and those of her family on his site.⁸⁰

PROPAGANDISTS, RECRUITERS, TARGETS: WOMEN IN ANTISEMITIC MOVEMENTS

Whilst this report has thus far primarily focussed on the young men at risk of slipping from anti-feminism and misogyny towards antisemitism, when examining the intersection of these prejudices it is vital to turn attention towards the women in such movements. Whilst women have played active, influential and often visible roles in antisemitic movements for decades, including in the British far right, there has been a dearth of attention paid to this subject, with women's involvement often dismissed as an abnormality.

This oversight likely stems, in part, from the patriarchal hierarchies within such groups, but also the male dominance in academia and antifascism, meaning that the focus has traditionally had a male lens. However, as the historian Julie Gottlieb impresses, "it is now important to put women back in the picture", to this end drawing attention to the women of the British Union of Fascists in the 1930s, who found prominence in the organisation through their involvement in antisemitic campaigns. As Gottlieb highlights, the British theorist Nesta Webster became an internationally influential figure in the development of conspiratorial antisemitism in the 20th century, as she "merged her distaste for modern emanations of leftist

women's liberation with her virulent hatred of the Jews".⁸¹

Today, women continue to play important roles as propagandists and recruiters in antisemitic movements, sometimes behind the scenes, and a number of the UK's figurehead conspiratorial antisemites and Holocaust deniers are women. The prevalence of patriarchal attitudes and misogyny makes the position precarious, however, and these figures can quickly become targets for abuse.

PROPAGANDISING AND RECRUITING

As explored elsewhere in this report, women play powerful symbolic roles within far-right discourse as the supposed "victims" of Jewish conspiracies, often portrayed as brainwashed and imperilled by a looming sexual threat, but, crucially, lacking agency of their own. Despite this passive image, however, the active female propagandists of the far right often deliberately play on their gender to convey a less aggressive, more palatable version of the prejudice.

The most prominent female antisemite in the UK today is Laura Towler (real name Laura Melia,



Patriotic Alternative conference speakers, March 2020. PA Deputy Leader Laura Towler, second left.

née Laura Tyrie), the Deputy Head of Patriotic Alternative (PA), this country's largest active fascist group. PA is antisemitic to the core, but strives for a wholesome, family-friendly image, hoping to recruit both men and women in order to build cohesive far-right communities. Whilst most leading figures in PA are men, Towler has claimed that PA "actually has quite a high percentage of female supporters" compared to other "nationalist" organisations (although she has previously estimated that 85% of her YouTube audience is male). Towler is aware of her role in tempering the image of the far right, and has sought to appeal directly to women. She stated in a 2019 video:

"Women make fantastic propaganda, and if you stick a woman at your gateway, and she's talking about controversial topics that are just outside the Overton Window [boundaries of acceptable debate], then people will see her as softer and more relatable."

Expounding on this view in 2021, she stated that the "main advantage" of being a female leader is:

"[...] being able to soften nationalism and as an extension of that, get more women involved. We want to appeal to families. We want to go mainstream. The media have done a great job over the years of painting nationalists as low-IQ thugs. Obviously, this isn't true. I think the media struggle to paint me in this manner, and me being female is part of that."

Figures such as Towler obscure the extremeness of their ideologies by presenting them as a return to traditional values and an idealised, harmonious past. Much modern antisemitic discourse portrays feminism as a Jewish scheme to weaken the white race, alienating women from their "natural" familial desires and duties, and so the rejection of feminism is conversely portrayed as a form of female emancipation. For example, in an article titled "The War Against White Women", Towler claims that "Native fertility rates in white countries are being lowered by the continuous promotion of feminism, abortion, promiscuity, and mixed-race relationships", which, alongside a supposed influx of sexually rapacious immigrants, is being "orchestrated by a rootless clique of international businessmen". The embrace of traditional values – the "Trad Wife" lifestyle – is thus presented not only as the reclamation of women's true nature, but as a fightback against Jewish power. There is a burgeoning genre of far-right propaganda warning women against a wide variety of supposed modern ills, from sex toys to nagging at husbands, which are implicitly or explicitly linked to a Jewish conspiracy.

The overwhelming image of the white woman in far right discourse is the mother, entrusted with

the sacred role of safeguarding the future of the race. For example, all but one of the contestants in the 2016 "Miss Hitler" competition, organised by the now-proscribed UK Nazi group National Action, named motherhood as among the greatest contributions women could make to the cause (explored in depth elsewhere in this report). The PA website has a dedicated section titled "Home and Hearth", which is "for wives and mothers, by wives and mothers" and offers practical advice on raising children.

However, whilst maternal roles are often presented as a passive form of activism, it can also constitute an active form of recruitment within the family unit.⁸² As Paola Bacchetta and Margaret Power write in their exploration of right-wing women around the world, "Women activists are highly implicated in practices of recruitment: they bring in other women and men, also transmit right-wing values to their children, thereby encouraging a next generation of rightists".⁸³ During the pandemic, a number of far-right groups, PA among them, seized the opportunity to push for home-schooling, a practice long attractive to conspiratorial antisemites who view mainstream education as an indoctrinating, corrupting institution. PA even released an "Alternative Curriculum" to help parents educate children "free from the shackles and ideology of the National Curriculum", including racist tropes and hints of the White Genocide conspiracy theory, such as the claim that Black Lives Matter aims to "destroy Western civilisation, the white nuclear family, Christianity and private property" with funding from George Soros.

Of course, the "softer" image some antisemitic women seek to present does not necessarily mean that their Jew-hatred is any less extreme than the men in their movements. For example, Kathleen Blee, who interviewed several dozen white supremacist women in US in the early 2000s, observed: "nearly all the women made brutal threats against Jews, with calls to "exterminate them" or to "rid our land of the Jews and isolate them in a country of their own".⁸⁴ Again, several "Miss Hitler" contestants stated that they believed they could help the group appear more respectable, but used pseudonyms such as "The Galloping Gestapo".

In antisemitic movements, women can also occasionally leverage their roles as symbols in order to spur men into more radical action. For example, Katie Fanning, a former member of UKIP's National Executive Committee who has since shifted into hard-line antisemitism, stated in a Telegram group that white women:

"[...] seem to have much more balls and backbone than the men within our countries. And if I was wrong, we wouldn't have so many P**is and sub-Saharan

Africans raping your women and children and telling you how to live within your governance. [...] The men in the white western world deserve a white feather, every single last one of them, that has not stood up for our peoples, our rights, our nations, our history, our heritage and culture, everything that our forefathers fought for. They are the cowards. Women are cowardly if they refuse to marry and have children. Men are cowardly when they refuse to protect their family, their women, their children, their homeland, and what their forefathers fought and sacrificed for. It's not for women to be cowardly. That is men's prerogative."

TARGETING WOMEN

However, women's public far-right activism rests uneasily with the simultaneous imperative to uphold traditional conceptions of femininity and docility. The Southern Poverty Law Centre (SPLC) writes that women enter a "precarious bargain" when they join hate groups that "bolster a racist, self-serving ideology while simultaneously subjecting them to rigid gender roles, sexual assault and physical violence", continuing that such women are "upholding institutions of white supremacy while forfeiting safety from misogyny and gender-based violence."⁸⁵

Towler has herself publicly denied experiencing abuse from within PA: "You might think I'd experience sexism, but I have been made to feel nothing but welcome and valued by our men. I get so much more hate from left-wing males." This may in part be due to the fact that, since November 2020, she has been married to another prominent PA member and is currently expecting a child, and so conforms to traditional expectations around marriage and motherhood.

When public women fail to meet such standards, however, the backlash can be particularly intense. One notable example occurred at the end of 2017 when figures associated with the alt-right embarked on large-scale harassment campaigns against prominent women in the movement, designed to force them out of public roles. Particular venom was directed at British YouTuber Tara McCarthy after she complained that "women in the Alt Right are constantly harassed by low status anonymous trolls trying to put us in our place". Much of the abuse was orchestrated by Andrew Anglin of the Daily Stormer website, who, revealing something of his own anxieties, stated that women in the movement:

"are stupid, they do not have ideas, they enter male spaces only to gain attention and destroy the concept of male spaces. Then they claim you are a wimp or a homosexual if you don't accept it."



Another of the UK's most prominent Holocaust deniers is Alison Chablop, a self-described "chanteuse" known for her venomous songs attacking the Jewish people. Chablop spent many years active in left-wing causes, including supporting Jeremy Corbyn's run as Labour leader in 2015, but became active in the UK's traditional fascist scene in 2016, performing a fateful musical show at the far-right London Forum that year. After footage of this performance was uploaded online, Chablop was convicted for causing "gross offence", turning her into one of the UK's most notorious Holocaust deniers and a martyr in the eyes of the traditional far right. However, in 2018 Chablop was at the centre of the split in the UK's small traditional Holocaust denial scene after a personal falling out with Michèle Renouf, a highly significant facilitator within the world of denial. This, alongside a number of accusations levelled at Chablop, saw the woman hailed by the UK far right as their own "Joan of Arc" derided in often misogynistic terms in short order.

CASE STUDY: MISS HITLER

National Action's 2016 "Miss Hitler" competition offers a degree of insight into the outlook of women within the radically antisemitic and misogynistic militant group.

In 2016, the UK Nazi group National Action (NA), which was proscribed under anti-terror laws later that year, organised a "beauty pageant", encouraging female supporters to answer questions and submit selfies to be judged by the young men that dominated the group. NA claimed that the competition was intended to draw attention to female supporters who "rarely get much spotlight or recognition". It was, in fact, a successful publicity stunt, generating a slew of outraged media coverage (which itself reportedly boosted entries by several dozen).⁸⁶ The responses of seven contestants were published on the NA website.

When asked to describe how they became National Socialists, answers varied widely, although two stated that their partners had played a major role in radicalising them. Contestants were also asked: "What makes women like you important to our cause?", and all responses stressed that women play a vital role in such movements, broadly focussing on three key areas: 1) raising white children and passing on Nazi beliefs, 2) making extremist groups appear more palatable, and 3) supporting the male members of the group. For example

- "It's so important to me that there's a balance of feminine to masculine in the movement – without feminine involvement, what would a movement be? A sad sausage fest with no appeal? Women are the most important figures when it comes to teaching and raising the next generation to be strong and proud. Nurturing is not a weak role, it is essential. I don't want this horrendous cycle of sanctioning the demise of our own race for the benefit of others to continue due to women falling victim to cultural Marxist propaganda."
- "Women have always had and will have an important role in nationalism, the women next to the men is the creator of everything, they help the men, they take care of the kids and the most important the women is the rest of the warrior that came back from war."
- "We come across with a softer approach: men are easily misjudged and always made out as thugs, women in the movement challenge the idea of what a nationalist is. Still I'm pretty old fashioned when it comes

to womens values, I believe a womans role is at home raising children whilst a mans job is outside the home, bringing money in."

- "I think we can really change the public perception, a group full of lads can look intimidating but if you have a few pretty girls by their side it makes us a lot more approachable. However, we shouldn't be putting ourselves in dangerous situations. We're here when our men need us, to tend to their wounds, stroke their egos or hide the laptops when the CTU [Counter-Terror Unit] comes knocking haha"

Whilst these answers conform to traditional gender roles – unsurprising, given the nature of the group and the format of a beauty pageant – some also stressed women's involvement in a more proactive, aggressive sense:

- "We need to step up, be the lionesses we ought to be and rip apart the hyenas laughing at us as we get raped, beaten, brainwashed and de-feminised en masse. Hyenas have no place in our pride and they never will."
- "The survival of our race depends on women like me. No women, no future. It's time for us to get our act together, sitting on the sideline while the men struggle and die is no longer an option"

Another contestant, who claimed she had been stabbed by a "left wing extremist" at a demonstration, believed that women could be active combatants:

- "Woman are so important to our cause. Our woman must be prepared to do anything, from having lots of children to help secure a next generation of our people and looking after her family, to being a frontline soldier – our enemies also use women."

Whilst most contestants have remained anonymous, "BuchenwaldPrincess" has been revealed to be Alice Cutter, an influential activist in the NA milieu who has since been sentenced to three years in prison for remaining a member of the group after its ban. Her partner, Mark Jones, was also jailed for five and a half years. According to prosecution, both Cutter and Jones had been attempting to recruit schoolgirls aged 15 and 16 to the group.⁸⁷

Cutter claimed in court that she had joined NA after receiving a Facebook friend request from a prominent member, and that this member had "very persistently" asked her to join the competition.⁸⁸

ANTISEMITISM AND MISOGYNY ON TELEGRAM: AN ANALYSIS

■ Data work conducted by Patrik Hermansson, Researcher at HOPE not hate

We conducted an analysis of far-right antisemitic spaces on the messaging app Telegram in order to investigate the extent and the nature of misogyny and gender politics in such spaces, and their intersection with Jew-hatred.

We found that whilst feminism is discussed less frequently than expected, open misogyny remains widespread and is enabled within antisemitic spaces on the platform. Attacks on gay men are especially widespread, which itself indicates the heterosexual male dominance of these spaces. Sexual assault is a prominent theme, and whilst it is discussed in a variety of ways, pro-rape comments are not uncommon.

TELEGRAM:

The messaging app Telegram currently sits on the cusp of the mainstream, surpassing 500 million monthly active users in January 2021, a month in which it was also the most downloaded app across iOS and Android globally.⁸⁹ However, since the late 2010s Telegram has also been the platform of choice for far-right elements across the globe, and remains notable for both the sheer quantity and the stark extremes of antisemitism and other forms of racism readily available on the app. Its commitment to secrecy, minimal moderation and relative ease-of-use has lowered the hurdle for engaging in the politics of hate and has enabled extremist networks to propagate, network and organise.

As Richard Rogers has outlined, Telegram is attractive to hateful movements as it is a “hybrid system”, combining protected messaging with elements of social media, thereby reconciling “dual desires of protection and publicity”.⁹⁰ While Telegram’s one-way broadcast channels allows users to cultivate an audience and spread propaganda widely, akin to Twitter, its public and private group chats provide community and the possibility to organise. Telegram can be a powerful radicalisation tool, as individuals can quickly become immersed in bubbles practically free from moderation in which they receive



constant streams of propaganda. It has thus become arguably the most important platform tying the antisemitic far right together, both in the UK and globally.

Analysing communication on Telegram can therefore provide valuable insights into the rhetoric and operations of antisemitic movements, and the space misogyny and gender politics occupies within them.

METHODOLOGY:

This project examined 73 English-language Telegram channels and chat groups, selected for the high prevalence of open antisemitism within them. All politically belonged to the far right, although there is ideological variation between them, with some sitting in the overtly antisemitic end of Telegram’s conspiracy theory milieu, some having emerged from the alt-right, and others promoting explicit fascist or Nazi ideology.

These channels and groups gave us a dataset of 5,684,738 text messages, which excluded posts consisting solely of videos or images. Using bespoke software, we searched for misogynistic and antisemitic key words within these text posts. A small proportion of posts within some chat groups were non-English languages (most commonly Russian), however the ratio was small enough not to significantly affect results.

Keywords were broken into categories for ease of analysis, although they were also considered individually:

- Subcategories of misogyny included **general misogyny** and **sexualised misogyny**, which include epithets that have wider use outside of the far right, the manosphere, and antisemitic subcultures. The former category includes common insults for women (such as “bitch”), whereas the latter includes terms with a sexualised aspect (such as “slut”).
- **Far-right misogyny** consisted of specific epithets used among the far right to attack women, but rare outside of far-right circles. For example, the term “coal burner” is pejorative slang for white women who date Black men.
- **Manosphere terminology**, i.e. slang and ideas originating from, or having a long-standing

and heavy use within, the various subcultures that make up the manosphere. This enabled us to explore the extent to which manosphere concepts have seeped beyond their online niche and into the contemporary, antisemitic far right.

- **Anti-feminism** was detected by searching for direct mentions of the movement, as well as slang terms and stereotypes regarding feminism.
- **Homophobia** was detected by searching terms relating to LGBTQ+ movements and identities.
- **Gendered pejoratives for men** consists of terminology used to denigrate men for their perceived femininity and lack of traditionally masculine qualities. For example, the term “soy boy” has become popular among the manosphere and the far right to ridicule liberal or left-wing men perceived as effeminate, referencing the myth that soy products, which these men are said to consume, boost oestrogen levels.

Samples of results for keywords were reviewed and terms that yielded significant false results were refined or excluded. Additionally, a list of keywords were used to detect antisemitism in the dataset and to locate posts that contained both antisemitism and keywords from other categories, enabling us to examine points of crossover.

It should be noted that whilst keywords provide a useful indication of the areas of discussion, the unintentional omission of terms can engender false negatives. Keywords are also an imperfect tool for detecting intent. For this reason, samples of keyword matches were reviewed to inform a deeper, qualitative analysis.

OUR RESULTS INDICATE THAT:

- **Misogyny is prevalent among the antisemitic far right.**

Misogynistic keywords were detected in 1.5% of posts. Whilst this may seem like a small percentage, it is significant when set against the large number of posts in the dataset containing non-political conversation. Moreover, when examining instances in context there appeared to be a high level of tolerance of open misogyny within chat groups.

The misogyny commonly had a sexualised dimension; the word “whore” closely followed “bitch” as the most popular misogynistic pejorative. This is unsurprising; denigrating women for alleged promiscuity – “slut-shaming” – remains common in wider society, functioning to reinforce the prevailing, patriarchal sexual double standard. Amongst far-right users who strongly oppose women’s sexual freedom (and women’s freedoms in general), it is predictably widespread.

Reviewing chat posts in context indicated a

general absence of pushback against open misogyny; when pushback occurred, it was not always due to objection to the misogyny per se, but sometimes due to concerns over image. For example:

“I think the woman question is like the Jewish question in one way, optics matter 😂 if you come across as just bashing women for being women no women will join our side 😂”

Misogynistic keywords only co-occurred with antisemitism in a relatively low number of posts (0.1%), with a portion of these blaming the perceived promiscuity of white women on the corrupting influence of Jews. The relative absence may indicate that the antisemitic caricature of a Jew is typically male, itself pointing towards patriarchal views about where power lies. If Jewish women are less visible in far-right antisemitic frameworks, however, when they are targeted, the intersection of misogyny and antisemitism often results in particularly vile abuse, where they are portrayed as inherently ugly, dirty and promiscuous, and, less frequently, as temptresses of white men.

- **Sexual violence is a prominent theme, although used in a variety of ways.**

“Rape” was among our most common keywords, occurring in almost 46,200 posts and “rapist” in a further 3,900. Many such posts referred to the sexual assault of white women and children by minoritised ethnic groups, a longstanding far-right trope that enables white men to inhabit a patriarchal “protector” role. Some such messages referenced the conspiracy theory that Jews were imperilling white women by encouraging an influx of rapacious immigrants, and a number also smeared Jews as rapists themselves, especially of children.

Misogyny was sometimes expressed in such messages in the guise of victim blaming. As feminist scholars have highlighted, in mainstream discourse on sexual assault there is often a sharp demarcation made between “genuine” victims deemed “worthy” of protection, and “blameworthy” victims who “invite” or “deserve” sexual violence.⁹¹ As one message in a group chat stated:

“There’s a balance between women walking around with their butt cheeks and tits hanging out and throwing a burka on it. Normal European standards allow women to wear pretty dresses and not get raped”

At the same time, comments promoting sexual violence were common. Whilst these sometimes appeared to be “edgy” jokes, others openly promoted rape as a political weapon (for example, “rape antifa girls” and “Hail rape. Feminist tears are too delicious”), and occasionally target

Jewish women (for example, “I want to rape a jewess”). In chat groups, such comments were occasionally made as threats to other users.

■ References to feminism were detected in a relatively small number of posts.

Discussion of feminism was detected in just 0.1% of messages. As explored elsewhere in this report, anti-feminism can be a gateway into the far right and antisemitism, and the relative absence of open discussion of feminism in our dataset may be due to the fact that it consists of spaces already firmly aligned to the extreme far right. Within such spaces, an opposition to feminism is assumed, and discussion has moved on to more taboo subjects and more extreme prejudices. Reviewing samples revealed a handful of comments making this explicit; for example, one user stated the idea of downplaying “Jew and race stuff” and instead reverting to “owning the feminists” is “low t beta faggot incel teir [sic]”.

When discussed, feminists were framed as figures of hate, presented as irrational, man-hating, and unintelligent, but also controlling and authoritarian. Feminism was frequently discussed in conspiratorial terms, often linked to a Jewish plot, or “a jewish war for women”, as one post read.

■ Homophobia directed at gay men, and gendered pejoratives for men, are widespread, which in itself says something about misogyny.

Homophobia was prevalent, with homophobic terms for men detected in 2.3% of all messages. This is in itself unsurprising, as anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment has long been associated with societal decline in far-right discourse, often implicitly or explicitly linked to a Jewish plot. As the sociologist R.W. Connell has noted, hegemonic masculine norms entail not only the domination of women, but also the subjugation of men regarded as less masculine, and that “oppression positions homosexual masculinities at the bottom of a gender hierarchy among men” with “gayness [...] easily assimilated to femininity”.⁹² Reviewing samples indicated that homophobic slurs were frequently used to as a byword for male effeminacy, sometimes used interchangeably with ostensibly non-homophobic pejoratives for men that similarly denote lack of traditional masculine norms.

Ostensibly non-homophobic terms used to attack men for their perceived unmanliness were detected in 0.1% of messages, although the terms “simp” and “cuck” scored among our most common keywords. Interestingly, these terms both carry a patriarchal/misogynistic dimension. “Simp”, the most popular term in this category, is used to insult men perceived to be overly attentive or submissive to women who do not reciprocate their feelings, suggesting that women naturally seek to dominate or manipulate men.

“Cuck” is an insult derived from “cuckold”, a term that has, through pornography featuring the white wives of submissive husbands having sex with (usually) black men, become imbued with racial meaning and overtones of sexual humiliation, and also implies that women are possessions, and are naturally unfaithful.

In part, the prevalence of anti-gay slurs, and terms such as “simp” and “cuck”, speaks to the fact that far-right online spaces are overwhelmingly considered male, and users are generally assumed to be male unless they openly identify as women or girls. Many far-right subcultures actively protect men-only enclaves online from the supposedly feminising influence of women, with women users often abused or banned outright from such spaces. Within such spaces, however, the (assumed) male users often jostle for hierarchy, meaning that interactions between users frequently descend into insult matches, often attacking one another’s masculinity. This male dominance likely explains the fact that anti-lesbian hate was detected far less frequently than homophobia directed at gay men.

■ The influence of the manosphere on far-right discourse is evident, although the manosphere’s subcultures themselves are often shunned.

Manosphere terms were detected in 0.5% of messages. As explored elsewhere in this report, the manosphere has helped to shape the understandings of gender politics among sections of the contemporary far right. Some of these terms have reached wider use, however, and are now common internet slang (for example, the word “Chad” to describe the ideal masculine man), meaning that many using the term may have had little or no direct contact with the manosphere. Interestingly, the word “manosphere” only occurred in 22 messages in the entire sample, a negligible amount.

Moreover, specific subcultures within the manosphere are generally regarded in scornful terms. For example, the term “incel” occurred in 10,492 messages, but was most often used as an insult to denigrate another’s masculinity for their lack of success with women, their lack of social skills, and sometimes their overt misogyny. The incel subculture, as well as the MGTOW subculture of male gender separatists, were sometimes portrayed as male equivalents of feminism, and thus associated with a Jewish plot to lower white birth rates.

Still, shades of manosphere ideologies could be discerned in many comments, particularly in the dehumanised view of sexual relationships as mere bargaining, and a preoccupation with “alpha” and “beta” males, again an attempt to establish hierarchies within male domains. The word “Jew” was sometimes used interchangeably with “beta male”.

A DANGEROUS COMBINATION

Telegram continues to fail to take appropriate action against the dangerous hate operating through its software, and must do much more to impede its spread. All tech companies must take a responsibility to deal with the misuse of their platforms, and Telegram must be held to account.

However, it is crucial to recognise that Telegram is just one part of a wider ecosystem, which itself is being fed by wider issues and social attitudes. The combination of antisemitism and misogyny, and other forms of prejudice, is widespread among the far right, and can have dangerous consequences for those affected, both online and off.



An antisemitic, anti-feminist image shared on Telegram

CASE STUDY: THE RAPEWAFFEN DIVISION

One particularly worrying development in recent years has been the increasingly common promotion of weaponised rape and sexual sadism among the extreme far-right fringes.

Throughout the 2010s, an extreme, international far-right subculture emerged online that advocates for the formation of decentralised terrorist networks. This subculture is intensely antisemitic and preaches a message of sabotage and guerrilla warfare in order to accelerate the collapse of the “system” and the genocide of their enemies. Whilst this subculture remains small, it has spread extensively on the messaging app Telegram and remains active on mainstream platforms such as Instagram. As we have previously reported, groups belonging to this subculture have drawn in teenagers in the UK.⁹³

The recent emphasis on sexual violence in such networks in part stems from the Order of Nine Angles (ONA), a longstanding Nazi Satanist network founded in the UK.⁹⁴ Since the mid-2010s, ONA’s philosophy of unbridled transgression has increasingly influenced pre-existing Nazi terroristic organisations, including the AtomWaffen Division (AWD) in the US and the Sonnenkrieg Division (SKD) in the UK. SKD, proscribed as a terror group in 2020, celebrated domestic abuse, rape and murder, and itself emerged from a splinter of National Action (NA), a UK-based terror group proscribed in 2016. Prominent members of NA also associated with ONA and have convictions for sexual offences.

Pro-rape discourse has infected the wider pro-terror Nazi subculture, although it remains controversial. Among the clearest examples is the RapeWaffen Division (RWD), a small, now defunct AWD splinter that operated on Telegram. Fomenting on the extreme fringe of the extreme fringe, the group obsessively promoted sexual violence, and in private chats users solicited and shared videos of women subjected to sexual abuse, alongside other acts of violence and murder. The group’s founder has given followers practical advice on locating and subduing victims in order to sexual assault them.

Despite the profound misogyny of the group, internal documents claim that “the ONA does not ‘hate all women’”, and that in fact “women are highly revered in the ONA”. The group explains its emphasis on sexual violence thus:

“Rape is a method of torture, a tool for terror, a magick, a way of causing fear and disorder amongst ‘normal people’

just by mentioning the “horrifying and vicious” act we know as Rape, a term that means a taking/violation without permission. The lemmings let these words have power by fearing a 4 letter word; which benefits us indirectly by giving our name, and our words the ability to be feared.”

In a subculture in which genocidal antisemitism and the celebration of mass shooters is normalised, the exaltation of rape is the next transgressive step. However, this desire to shock should not deflect from the reality of the violent threat posed by such a group. The document goes on to state:

“The mind of an RWD associate should be that of a soldier. Calm, calculated, and precise. Yet, aggressive, ready to kill, and encompassed with fierce hate for the enemy and even fiercer loyalty for our sinister brothers and sisters.”

In June 2020, an American soldier, Ethan Phelam Melzer, was indicted for a plot to murder “as many of his fellow service members as possible”. Melzer engaged with RWD on Telegram.⁹⁵ The group announced that it would disband after the indictment of Melzer, although other groups have since emerged bearing that name.



Nazi propaganda promoting sexual violence

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